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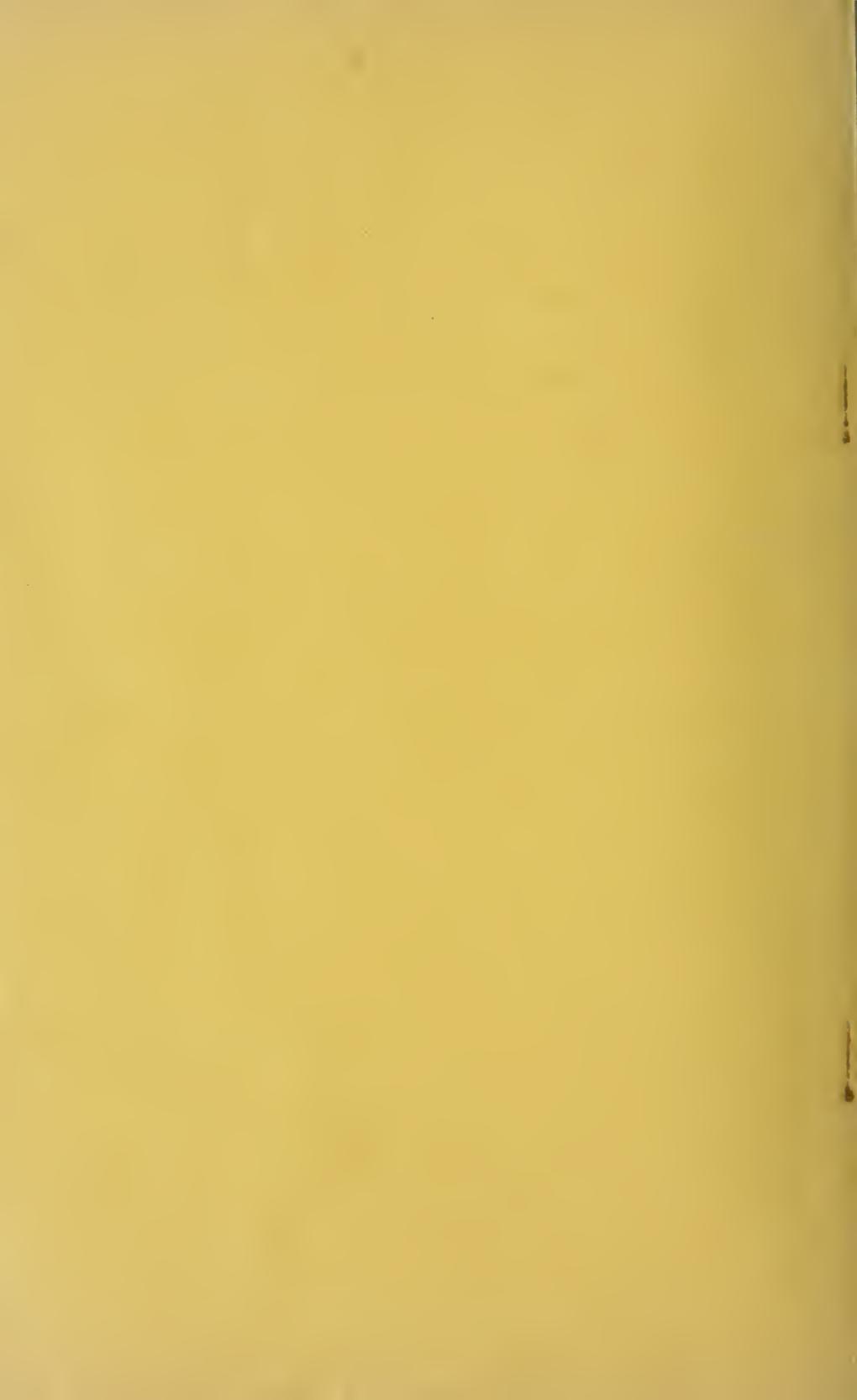
FURTHER NOTES
ON THE
LITERATURE OF THE HURUFIS
AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE
BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES.

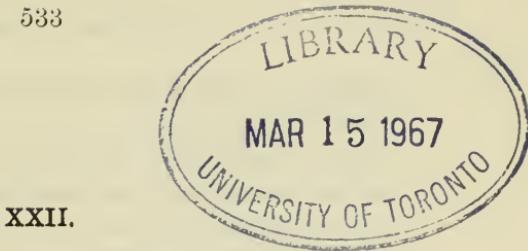
BY

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XXII.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE LITERATURE OF THE
HURUFIS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE
BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES.

BY EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., M.R.A.S.

NINE years ago, in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 61–94, I published an article entitled *Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Hurúfi Sect.* The materials for that article were chiefly derived from a manuscript of the *Járidán-i-Kabir* (Ee. 1. 27) in the Cambridge University Library, and two manuscripts (*Anciens Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Supplément Persan*, 107) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, of which the former contained (1) the *Istiūá-náma* of the Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Ḫusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayní, of Astarábád, composed shortly after A.H. 828 (= A.D. 1425), (2) an allegorical *mathnawi* poem, and (3) a glossary of the dialect words used in the *Járidán-i-Kabir*; while the latter contained another Hurúfi treatise which appeared to be that entitled the *Mahabbat-náma*. Thanks to information contributed by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, I was also able to prove that the sect, which appears not to have taken root in Persia, the land of its birth, spread into Turkey, where it caused some commotion at several different periods, and suffered several fierce persecutions, amongst the victims of which (in A.H. 820 = A.D. 1417–18) was the bilingual poet Nesími, whose *Diwán* is not uncommon in manuscript, and was printed at the *Akhtar* Press in Constantinople in A.H. 1298 (= A.D. 1881). I was not, however, aware at that time how considerable was the extent of the Hurúfi literature still extant, nor did I know that the Hurúfi doctrines are still

professed and taught amongst the members of the Bektáshí Order of Dervishes.

The connection of the Hurúfís with the Bektáshís first became known to me in the following manner. About three years after the publication of the article to which I have referred above, a certain dealer in Oriental manuscripts in London, a native of Baghdad, from whom I had already purchased a considerable number of MSS., invited me to furnish him with a list of my desiderata, in order that he might submit the same to his correspondents in the East. I did so, and mentioned in my list the *Járidán-náma* or any other Hurúfi books. Shortly afterwards (in Feb.–March, 1901) he forwarded to me a parcel of manuscripts in which was included a copy of this work (now in the British Museum, marked Or. 5,957) besides some other books of the sect in question. The prices set on these MSS. were high, but some half-dozen were secured by the Cambridge University Library, while another half-dozen were purchased by the British Museum, and now bear the class-marks Or. 5,957–Or. 5,961.

The comparatively high prices realised by these MSS. seem to have stimulated the search for other similar ones, and gradually, as the supply not only continued but increased, it became clear that these Hurúfi books existed in considerable quantities, and were still widely read and copied in the East, especially in Turkey. Prices consequently fell rapidly, and latterly few of these MSS. have fetched more than £2 or £3 in the limited market where the demand for them existed. Nor was it long before we discovered that it was from the Bektáshí dervishes that they were, in almost all cases, directly or indirectly derived, and that it was amongst the members of this Order that the Hurúfi doctrines flourish at the present day.

With this dervish order all who have visited Constantinople or other parts of the Turkish Empire with open eyes are familiar. Towards Christians, and even Christian missionaries, they commonly show an unusual friendliness, but amongst the Muhammadans they are regarded with

a much more unfavourable eye than the Mevlevís, Rufá'ís, Qádirís, and other dervish orders. The reason of their ill repute I had hitherto been unable to ascertain: it was generally asserted that they shared the Shí'ite views of the Persians, but this did not explain why they were more disliked by the orthodox Sunní Turks than were the heterodox Persians with whom they were supposed to be in sympathy. Moreover, Hággi Bektaş, the founder of the order, though of Persian origin, enjoyed high favour with the Ottoman Sultan in his day, lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and is chiefly known in history as having conferred his blessing on the Janissary corps when it was first formed; a blessing in memory of which the Janissaries wore on their head-dresses a white band, supposed to represent the sleeve of the saint as it rested in blessing on the head of their leader. Hággi Bektaş is said by Mu'allim Nájí (*Asámí*, p. 106) to have died in A.H. 738 (= A.D. 1337-8), which date, curiously enough, coincides with the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing the word *Bektaşihyya* (بكتاشيّة) by which the order which he founded is known. Fadlu'lláh the Hurúfí was born two years later, in A.H. 740.

The matter is explained and the connection further established in the only printed book included amongst 46 Hurúfí works acquired by the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and myself since 1901. This book, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5), is entitled *Káshifu'l-Asrár u Dáfi'u'l-Ashrár* ("The Revealer of Mysteries and the Refuter of Reprobates"), and was composed by one of the orthodox 'Ulamá named Isháq Efendi in denunciation of the Bektaşís. For the most part it consists of a detailed refutation of a Hurúfí work of 32 chapters (according to the number of the letters in the Perso-Arabian alphabet) entitled '*Ishq-náma*' ("The Book of Love") by 'Izzu'd-Dín Firishtázáda. Of this book the Bektaşís had three years previously (in A.H. 1288 = A.D. 1871-2) ventured to publish a lithographed edition, of which also I possess a copy. In the preface of his refutation Isháq Efendi speaks (p. 2) as follows:—

"Be it known that of all those sects which busy themselves with misleading the people of Islám, the Bektáshís are the chief offenders, and that although it is obvious both from their words and deeds that they are not of the Muslims, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they made this fact patent to all. The books which these persons call *Jávidán* are six in number, one of which was composed by their original misleader, Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí, while the other five are the works of his *Khalífas* (Vicars). And since in these five books their heresies and blasphemies are very evident, they are wont to teach and study them secretly amongst themselves; but as Firishta-záda in his *Jávidán*, entitled '*Ishq-náma*' ("The Book of Love"), did in some measure conceal his blasphemies, and since in the above-mentioned year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they [i.e. the Bektáshís] made so bold as to print and circulate this work, it has unquestionably become a matter of urgent necessity that a treatise should be written to make known to the faithful their true character, and the blasphemous nature of the doctrines contained in their books. Therefore, relying on God, I have ventured to write such a treatise, comprising three chapters, as follows:—

"*Chapter i* :—Setting forth the origin of Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí, and the principles and laws of certain of the Bektáshís.

"*Chapter ii* :—Setting forth the blasphemies of Firishta-záda's *Jávidán*.

"*Chapter iii* :—Setting forth the blasphemies of the other *Jávidáns*."

The author next speaks briefly of the Carmathians (*al-Qarámiṭa*), whom he regards as the successors of the *Ibāhiyya*, or communists (meaning probably the Mazdakites), and the progenitors of the Ḥurúfís. Thence he passes to Faḍlu'lláh, "who," says he, "secretly busied himself in teaching his blasphemies, and raised up for himself nine *Khalífas* or Vicars." "After a while," he continues further on, "the evil doctrines of these heretics became known amongst men, and the son of Tímúr [*i-Lang*, i.e. Tamerlane]

caused Fadl the Hurúfí to be put to death, after which he tied a rope to his legs, dragged him publicly through the streets and *bázárs*, and removed his foul existence from this nether world."

After the death of the founder of the Hurúfí sect, according to Isháq Efendi, "his *Khalífas*, or Vicars, agreed to disperse themselves through the lands of the Muslims," and he who bore the title of *al-'Alī al-A'īd* ("the High, the Supreme") came to the monastery of Hájji Bektásh in Anatolia, and there lived in seclusion, teaching the *Járidán* to the inmates of the monastery, and assuring them that it represented the teaching of Hájji Bektásh the Saint (*wali*). "The inmates of the monastery," continues Isháq Efendi, "being ignorant and foolish, accepted the *Járidán*, notwithstanding that its obvious purport was the denial of all divine obligations and the pandering to the lusts of the flesh; named it 'the Secret'; and enjoined the utmost secrecy concerning it, to such a degree that if anyone enters their order and afterwards reveals 'the Secret' they consider his life forfeit. By this their so-called 'Secret' is meant certain blasphemous passages in the *Járidán*, hinted at and alluded to by detached letters like *alif* (!), *waw* (و), *jím* (ج), and *zayn* (ز), for the understanding of which symbols they have composed a tract entitled *Miftáhu'l-Hayát* ('The Key of Life'). This they name 'the Secret'; and should one possess it, he understands the *Járidán*, which without it is incomprehensible. They were thus careful to conceal their secret for fear lest the doctors of religion should obtain some inkling of its nature, and should suppress it; and thus, since A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8), have they succeeded in secretly seducing many.

"But in A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5), during the reign of his late Majesty Sultán Mahmúd Khán-i-Ghází (whose abode is now in Paradise), their blasphemies became in some degree apparent, so that he commanded their elders (*úlú*), who sold false miracles to the ignorant, to be put to death, their monasteries to be levelled with the ground, and their lands and part of their allowances to be made over to the

Naqsh-bandí order of dervishes. So, in the course of the next thirty or forty years they continued, some in the guise of shaykhs and dervishes of the Sa'dí, some of the Rufá'í, some of the Qádirí, and some of the Naqshbandí orders, each in his own chosen retreat, secretly to teach their blasphemies and heresies, until finally, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2), they fully disclosed their false doctrines, to such a degree that Firishta-záda dared to print and publish amongst the Muslims his *Jávidán*."

The author next enumerates their chief heresies and the wiles whereby they seek to mislead simple-minded Muslims. He says that they believe in the divinity of Fadlu'lláh, and regard the Deity as a power which manifested itself through Moses, Jesus, and all the great Prophets, and revealed the Scriptures which they brought, though it did not reveal their true allegorical meaning until it appeared in person as Fadlu'lláh in the year A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) at Astarábád in Persia, bringing the *Jávidán*, which contained the true explanation of all the revealed books which had preceded it. This being their actual belief, they pretend to be Shí'ites and devoted admirers of the Prophetic Household, declaring love of the Prophet's family to be the root of the matter, and the sins of him who loves 'Alí to be venial. Thus they accustom their neophytes to neglect prayer and fasting and to indulge in forbidden practices, like the drinking of wine, and only "when they are well assured of their infidelity," to quote our author's words, "do they teach them that blasphemous heresy which they call 'the Secret,' since in fact there is in the *Jávidáns* no mention of the name of anyone connected with the Holy Family; only, in order to attract the Shí'ites, they say that He who appeared in the form of 'Alí was again Fadl the Hurúfí."

They have also, according to Ishaq Efendi, a rule or custom which they call "the sixteen girdles," each girdle representing allegiance to one of the Prophets. He who girds himself with one of these girdles takes the Prophet represented by that girdle as his special patron, and professes to observe his law, but in fact only observes some one point

which he regards as typical of that Prophet. They also believe in the three Persons of the Christian Trinity, and credit their own *bábás* or elders with miraculous powers, but the neophytes of the order are ignorant of these things, and merely believe themselves to be Shí'ites.

I should like, did space permit, to quote at greater length from this interesting book, but I have, I think, said enough to prove beyond all doubt the intimate connection which exists between the Hurúfís and the Bektáshís. It is curious that the sect seems to have disappeared from Persia, the land of its birth, while in Turkey its main stronghold is, as I am informed by Mr. Andrew Ryan, British Vice-Consul at Constantinople, in Albania. Hence, while the older Hurúfi literature is chiefly in Persian, the later literature is almost entirely in Turkish. In Arabic there appears to be but little, save a version (apparently abridged) of Firishta-záda's 'Ishq-náma, of which a manuscript (labelled كتاب الفضل الباقي) was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in December last.

Of the doctrines of the Hurúfís I have not space to speak at length here; I have discussed them in outline in my article in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 69–89, and an admirable sketch of these is given by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb in vol. i of his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, pp. 338–342, 353–355, 373 *et seqq.* Nor are the materials required for a full elucidation of these doctrines at present sufficiently accessible, though in a short time M. Clément Huart will publish in the Gibb Memorial Series a volume of Persian Hurúfi texts with French translations, to which I hope to add a short Introduction or Appendix. Amongst the texts which M. Huart proposes to publish are the *Hidáyat-náma*, the *Mahram-náma*, the *Niháyat-náma*, and other treatises, as well as a list of the abbreviations used by the Hurúfís, and the glossary of the dialect-words employed in the *Jávidán-i-Kabír* and other Hurúfi writings.

I regret that at present I have been unable to find any reference to the execution of Faḍlu'lláh, or the causes which led to it, in any of the chronicles of the reign of Tímúr-i-Lang,

in which it occurred. Nor are the chief dates given altogether satisfactory, for while A.H. 804 (= A.D. 1401-2) is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar as the date of Faḍlu'lláh's death, and, more generally, A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) by Isháq Efendi as the date when the Ḥurúfí doctrines began to be promulgated, we find on the fly-leaf of one of the Ḥurúfí MSS. in the British Museum (Or. 6,381), dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), the following series of dates :—

- (1) Birth of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 740 (= A.D. 1339-40).
- (2) Manifestation, or disclosure, of knowledge, A.H. 788 (= A.D. 1386-7).
- (3) Martyrdom of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 796 (= A.D. 1393-4).
- (4) Age of Faḍlu'lláh at the time of his death, 56 years.
- (5) Death of his *Khalífa*, or Vicar, entitled *Ḩadrat-i-'Alīyyi A'lá*, A.H. 822 (= A.D. 1419).
- (6) Death of Anti-Christ (*Dajál*), who is "Márán-sháh" (i.e. Tímúr's son, Míránszáh, whose name the Ḥurúfís have thus changed to make it mean "the Serpent-King"), A.H. 803 (= A.D. 1400-1).

Lastly, the following verse, inscribed by the side of the above dates, would seem to imply that Faḍlu'lláh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in A.H. 775 (= 1373-4) :—

از ذال گذشتہ شیئن و نکی چون ' از کعبہ قدم نیاد بیرون '

"'Ayn (ع = 70) and *Há* (ه = 5) had passed from *Dhá'il* (ذ = 700) when he [i.e. Faḍlu'lláh] set his foot outside the Ka'ba."

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from quoting a very curious and interesting document which I found on f. 24 of the British Museum MS. Or. 6,380, and which appears to be, having regard both to the superscription and the contents, the last testament of Faḍlu'lláh, written on a piece of paper and placed by him between the leaves of the *Mahabbat-náma-i-Iláhi*. This document runs as follows :—

وصیت نامه

سواند خط مبارک ح ق ح [یعنی حضرت فضل جل شأنه]
 بر قطعه کاغذ نوشته در میان اوراق محبّت نامه‌ای بود قطع
 یک دل از شوق سخنها دارم قاصدی نیست که در پیش تو
 تقریر کند، خدا بر حال این فتیرگواه است که بغیر از تفرقه اطفال
 و مفارقت اصحاب هیچ نگرانی نمانده است، مسئله چند که
 نگران بود تسلیم آن عزیز و عزیزان کرده است، اگر حق تعالی
 بجمعیع نیک خواسته باشد برسد باقی تا چه خواهد کرد، یا رب
 یا رب شبهای من

(f. 24b) در همه عمرم مرا یک دوست در شروان نبود،
 دوست کی باشد کجا ای کاش بودی آشنا،
 من حسین وقت و نا اهلان بزید و شمر من،
 روزگارم جمله عاشورا و شروان کربلا،

بر آن عزیزان پوشیده نیست که این فقیر را از جمیعت دین نگرانی
 نمانده است سلام و دعای ما درین آخر باصحاب و یاران و دوستان
 برسانند و نوع سازند که این قاعده‌ها و این ابیات و این حقایق
 باشان برسد، روز چند بگوشه نداشناخت فروکش کنند و آنرا
 خبیط بکنند و این آئین نواست، آن فرزند و ماندگان و آزادگان را
 از ما به پرسند و السلام،

TRANSLATION.

“TESTAMENT.

(“Copy of the Blessed Writing of H. F. J. H. [= HADRAT-I-FADLU’LLÁH, JALLA SHA’NUHU]¹ written on a fragment of paper and placed amongst the leaves of the *Mahabbat-náma*.)

“I have a whole heart [filled] with eagerness for speech, but there is no messenger to declare to thee [what I would say]. God is witness of the condition of this poor unfortunate that, save parting from [his] children and separation from [his] friends, no expectation is left. [The settlement of] sundry matters which were pending he leaves to that dear friend and other dear friends. If God Almighty desires good for all, it will come: for the rest [we must wait and see] what He will do. O Lord, O Lord of my nights!

In the town of Shirwán all my life not a single friend was mine:

Who and where is a friend? Alas! not e'en an acquaintance I saw!

The Husayn of the Age am I, and each worthless foe a Shimr and Yazid,

My life is a day of mourning, and Shirwán my Kerbelá.

It is not hidden from those dear friends that no expectation remains to this poor unfortunate in the matter of religion. Convey my salutations and prayers at this last moment to my companions and friends and dear ones, and act in such manner that these rules [of conduct], verses and truths, may reach them. Let them be laid away for a few days in some secret corner, and let them be well kept. This is the New Ordinance. Let my son enquire on our part after those who are left and the noble ones. Farewell.”

¹ The use of the expression *jalla sha’nuhu*, ‘glorious in His state,’ after the name of a man, is, of course, rank blasphemy in the eyes of the orthodox, but the Hurufis, who regard Fadlu’lláh as an Incarnation of the Deity, habitually place it after his name, generally in the abbreviated form here employed.

This letter, obscure as it is in certain passages, has nevertheless a human and personal note rarely to be found in the misty utterances of the Ḥurúfís. To us it seems strange that in Asia men should have been, nay, and still are, so ready to die for subtleties so intangible and ideas so bizarre as those which constitute the doctrines of the Ḥurúfís and other similar sects, and we are apt to think that some great ethical or eschatological idea must underlie them. But this, in my opinion, is an error; in Asia, especially in Persia, men lay down their lives for a new Avatar and a number fraught with mystical significance, like the numbers 7, 12, 14, or 19, rather than for some social or ethical ideal. In the West religion is chiefly concerned with conduct, but in the East with knowledge.

I. BRITISH MUSEUM.

(1) OR. 5,957 (*Persian and dialect of Astarábád*).

The *Járidán-i-Kabír* of Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí (ff. 4^b–481^a), followed by another tract (ff. 481^b–483^b), and (f. 484^b) a short poem explaining why the word ایتدا! is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Járidán-i-Kabír*. At the end of the volume (ff. 485^a–490^a) is a vocabulary of the dialect words used in the *Járidán*, containing the explanation of some 770 words, and entitled لغت اس्टرآبادی ("Glossary of the Astarábádí dialect"). Ff. 490 of 22·5 × 12·4 c. Transcribed by the Mu'adhdhin (Mu'ezzin) Darwísh 'Isá b. Kamálu'd-Dín Khwája of اركري کسرى in A.H. 1196 (= A.D. 1782). Bought 30, iii, 1901.

(2) OR. 5,957* (*Persian*).

Miftáḥ-i-Hurúf-i-Járidán, a key to the abbreviations and signs employed in the *Járidán*, of which some 150 are explained. Ff. 3 (ff. 1^b–3^b written on). Acquired with the above MS., within the covers of which it was originally placed.

(3) OR. 5,958 (*Persian*).

A tract with no proper title, described as *رساله فضل حروف*, apparently by *Fadlu'lláh*, beginning :—

ذات نطق كه وجود سی کلمه حضرت فضل حق است حـ د
مجموع موجود است الحـ

Transcribed by Darwísh Ḥusayn Ahmád in A.H. 1155 (= A.D. 1742-3).

(4) OR. 5,959 (*Persian*).

The *Ádam-náma*, transcribed in a fine, bold *ta'liq* hand, by Darwísh 'Alí-qulí, in *Rabí'* ii, A.H. 987 (= June, A.D. 1579), and purchased by the Museum 30, iii, 1901. Ff. 289 of 25.3 x 17 c. and 16 lines; rubrications.

(5) OR. 5,960 (*Turkish*).

The *'Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda ('Abdu'l-Majíd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dín), comprising 32 chapters, preceded by a table of contents (ff. 1^b-2^a), and beginning :—

فـ حـقـيـقـةـ اـمـيـرـ المـؤـمـنـيـنـ عـلـىـ كـرـمـ اللـهـ وـجـهـهـ ، وـقـدـ اـخـتـصـرـ
اـبـوـابـ عـلـىـ الـاثـنـيـنـ وـالـثـلـثـيـنـ بـعـدـ اـثـنـاـ وـثـلـثـيـنـ كـلـمـةـ تـامـةـ الـيـةـ أـزـلـيـةـ
وـابـدـيـةـ وـعـلـمـ آـدـمـ اـسـمـاءـ كـلـهاـ ،

This work was composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1429-30). This copy was completed on *Ramadán* 20, A.H. 1276 (= April 12, A.D. 1860). Ff. 72 of 23.7 x 15.9 c. and 25 lines.

(6) OR. 5,961 (*Turkish*).

A collection of five *Hurúfi* works, dated A.H. 1274 (= A.D. 1857-8), and comprising ff. 117 of 16.2 x 10.5 c. It was bought 30, iii, 1901, and contains :—

- (1) *Risála-i-Nugátu'l-Bayán* (on the “Point of Explanation”), ff. 1–33, beginning:—

قوله تعالى سُرِّيْم آیاتنا فِي الْأَفَاق وَ فِي أَنْسَبِهِمْ حَتَّى يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ
اَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ اَى طَالِبٍ بَيْلٍ وَ آگَادٍ اُولٌ كَهُ . . . الْحَقُّ

- (2) *Ákhirat-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 34^b–57^a), beginning:—
الْحَمْد لِلَّهِ . . . الْحَقُّ اَمَّا بَعْدُ بُو فَتَيْر عَبْدُ الْمُجَمِّد بْنُ فَرَشَتَةِ
عَرَّالْدِينِ . . . آخِرَتْ نَامَهُ بُو كَتَابِي تَحْرِيرِ اِيمَدِي

- (3) Commentary on a *qaṣida* by Abdál Bábá (ff. 58^b–81^b), beginning:—

بِالْقَوْدِ اِيْدَمْ اُولَّا سُودَمْ كَهْ آشْكَار اَوْلَامْ ‘

تا بَنْ دَخِيْ آدَمْ كَبِيْ بِرَدَمْ جَهَانْ بَابَا اَوْلَامْ ‘

- (4) Tract by Mithálí (ff. 82^b–86^b), beginning:—

فَ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ بِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ ‘ حَضْرَتْ قَبْ خَدَادِ
ذَاتِ بَنِي هَمَتَا عَرْشَنَاهَهُ الْبَنِي وَ تَأْوِيلُ كَلَامِ نَا مَسْتَنَاهِيْسَنَدَهُ كَهْ جَوَاهِرِ
دُرْ مَكْنُونَ وَ عَلَمْ لَدَنَنَ ‘

اَوْلَ سَبْعَ المَثَانِي اَى حَكِيمْ ‘ هَسْت بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ‘
دِيْوبْ مَنَاسِبَتَلَهُ بُو بَيْتَنِي نَظَمْ بِيُورْ شَلَرَدَرْ بَنْ حَقَّيْر وَ فَقِيرِ پِرْ كَنَادِ
بَنَدَدْ كَهْتَرِينْ فَخَلِيْلُ اللَّهِ اَعْنَى مَثَانِي خَاكِيَّ اَهْلُ اللَّهِ . . . الْحَقُّ

- (5) A Turkish poem in 32 *maqálas* and a *tatimma*, beginning:—

سَطْر بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ‘ آدَمْ وَ حَوْا درَائِي دِيْوَرْ جِيمِ ‘
يَعْنَى بِسْمِ اللَّهِ اَنْسَتَهُ آدَمِي ‘ قَبْ حَقِ سَلَطَانْ هَرْ دُو عَالَمِي ‘

In this doctrinal poem, which fills the remainder of the MS., the doctrines of the Hurúfís are pretty clearly set forth.

(7) OR. 6,290 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A fine old copy of the *Diwán* of *Nesími*, transcribed in Ramaḍán, A.H. 974 (= March–April, A.D. 1567), by Darwísh Muṣṭafá Ná-Murád, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 17 of 19·8 × 12·2 e., written in a good *ta'liq* and entitled:—

شِرْلَيَاتِ نَسِيمِيِّ الْمَغْدَادِيِّ [الْمُلَقَّبُ بِعَمَادِ الدِّينِ] مِنْ اَعْجَابِ
فَضْلِ فِياضِ الْحَرْوَى الْمَقْتُولِ بِسَيِّفِ الشَّرِيعِ فِي حَدَّ سَنَةٍ هَكَذَا ذَكَرَ
فِي كِشْفِ الظُّلُونِ^{٨٣}

(8) OR. 6,293 (*Persian*).

The ‘*Arsh-náma*, a *mathnáwi* poem of about 1,120 *bayts*, transcribed in Muḥarram, A.H. 1274 (= Aug.–Sept., A.D. 1857), and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Begins:—

بَئِيْ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، آدَمُ خَاكِسَتْ اَيِّ دِيْوَ رِجَيمُ،
آدَمُ خَاكِيْ كَهْ جَانَ عَالِمَسْتَ، پِيشَ ذَاتَ حَقَّ وَيِّ اَسْمَ اَعْظَمَسْتَ،

(9) OR. 6,294 (*Turkish*).

The *Diwán* of ‘*Arshi Dedé*, transcribed in Rajab, A.H. 1289 (= Sept., A.D. 1872), by Sayyid Maḥmúd Bábá, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 157 of 23 × 14·2 e. and 19 lines. Begins:—

بَايِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ اِيلَهِ قَرَآنَهُ اِيْتَدَمُ اِبْتَداً،

قَافُ وَيَا وَدَالِيْ قِيلَدَمُ حَرْفُ وَاحِدَدَدَ اَداً،

The copyist further describes himself as:—

سَاكِنُ بِدِرْگَادِ شَبِيِيدِ بَكْ قَرْبُ رَوْمِيلِيِّ حَصَارِيِّ حَافَظُ اَحْمَدُ
الْمُسْعَدَا،

(10) OR. 6,295 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A collection of five tracts, all, apparently, by Shaykh ‘Abdu’lláh Ṣaláhí (or Ṣaláḥu’d-Dín), transcribed at Sofía

in Jumáda ii, A.H. 1238 (= Feb.-March, A.D. 1823), purchased 6, xii, 1901, and containing:—

نَقْلُ شَرِيفٍ حَكْرَتْ مَصْرِي شَرْحٌ صَالَحِي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ افْنَدِي (۱)

قُدْسٌ سَرِّهِمَا

This fills ff. 1-32, and begins:—

اِيْكَى قَاشْكَ آرْدَسْنَدَه چَكَدَى خَطَّ اسْتَوَا‘

عَلَمُ الاسمَائِي تَعْلِيمٌ اِيتَدِي اول خَطَنَ خُدَا‘

Ends on f. 32^a thus:—

بَرْ زَمَانَ مَصْرِي لَسَانَنَدَنَ بُو نَقْلَى نَظَمَ اِيدَنَ‘

شَمَدِي رَمْزَيْنِي صَالَحِيْدَنَ يَنَه شَرْحَ اِيلَدِي‘

The copyist's name is given as Ahmád Fá'iz, and the date of transcription as A.H. 1231 (= A.D. 1816).

(2) A prose tract in Turkish (ff. 33-36), without title.

(3) A Turkish tract (ff. 37-46) in mixed prose and verse.

(4) On f. 47^a. The figure of the Hurúfí man, entitled:—

نَسْخَةٌ كَبْرَا [نَسْخَةٌ كَبْرِي] [for بُو]

(5) Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Saláhí Efendi's commentary (composed in A.H. 1175 = A.D. 1761-2: see f. 83) on a Persian *ghazal* of 11 *bayts* with the *radíf* by Mawláná Jalálú'd-Dín Rúmí (ff. 48^b-83^a), beginning:—

پَيْر طَرِيقَتْ سُلْطَانَ مَوْلَانَى رَوْهَى حَضْرَتْلَرِ يَنْتَكَ اُونَ بَرْ بَيْتَ يَافْتَمَ

خَرْلَنَى شِيشَعْ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ صَالَحِي افْنَدِي شَرْحَ اِيتَمَشَدَرْ قُدْسٌ سَرِّهِمَا العَزِيزَ‘

دُوشَ وَقَتَ صَبَّحَدَمَ دَرْ چَرَخَ پَایَانَ يَافْتَمَ‘

دَرْ مَیَانَ دَانَه خَشْنَخَاشَ سَنَدَانَ يَافْتَمَ‘

یَكْ كُلاهِي دَاشْتَمَ از لَبَلَبُو گُمَ شَدَ زَمَنَ‘

دَرْ مَیَانَ دَفَتَرَ مَلَّا سَلِيمَانَ يَافْتَمَ‘

Shaykh Saláhú'd-Dín is described as belonging to the Khalwátí order of dervishes (من الخلوتية الكاملية).

- (6) A Persian tract (ff. 84^b-103^a) by the above-mentioned Saláhí Efendi on the “Companions of [the Battle of] Badr,” entitled:—

رساله فارسي صلاحي افندى در اصحاب بدرا

Begins:—

بنظام اين رساله يا الپي ، مرا بعما طریق رانست راهی ،

(11) Or. 6,379 (*Persian*).

The *Kursi-náma*, a Persian *mathnawí* poem of about 4,349 bayts, beginning:—

ابتدارا بهترین نام خدا ، بود فصلش کردم از وی ابتدا ،
ف الله آن خداوند کریم ، هادئ خلند از صراط مستقیم ،

Ff. 199 of 14 × 9·5 c. Transcription completed at the end of Dhul'l-Hijja, A.H. 1025 (= Jan. 8, A.D. 1617). Purchased 13, v, 1902.

(12) Or. 6,380 (*Persian*).

A collection of Hurúfi tracts, including the *Wasiyyat-náma*, the *Tahqiq-náma*, the *Bashárat-náma*, and the *Hidáyat-náma*, transcribed (f. 23^b) in A.H. 1004 (= A.D. 1595-6), and purchased 13, v, 1902. Ff. 103 of 17·6 × 12 c. Contents:

- (1) The *Wasiyyat-náma* (ff. 2^b-23^b). The title occurs on f. 4^a in the following passage:—

خواست که رساله بر سبیل اختصار باسم وصیت نامه و یادگار
از جمعی درویشان عادق و طالبان محقق همدمان محرم و
محرمان همدم و سوم بوصیت نامه کتابت کمد ،

This tract is divided into sections (فصول), each beginning بدان اف درویش . Colophon on f. 23^b,

giving date of completion as the beginning of Muḥarram, A.H. 1004 (= Sept., A.D. 1595), and name of copyist as Walí.

- (2) On f. 24^a is a short prose passage (8 lines) on what happens to the soul after the destruction of the body, followed by the testament (*Wasiyyat-náma*) of Faḍlu'lláh, of which the text and translation are given on pp. 541–2 *supra*.
- (3) F. 25^a. Two versified lists of the Twelve Imáms, of 3 and 9 *bayts* respectively, by Jalálí Bey and Sayyid Nesímí.
- (4) Ff. 25–28. A *qasída* of about 125 *bayts*, beginning :—

بفضل باي بسم الله سخن گوئیم که در عبرا (؟)

که بی هردو جهان بود و بود همچون الف یکتا،

On f. 29^b is another colophon, giving the date Muḥarram, A.H. 999 (= Oct.–Nov., A.D. 1590). This is followed by a poem of 17 *bayts* rhyming in ق, and by a few remarks on prayer, etc.

- (5) The *Bashárat-náma-i-Iláhi* (ff. 30^a–62^b), a *mathnawi* poem of about 1,089 *bayts*, composed by one of the *Khalífas*, or Vicars, of Faḍlu'lláh named Abu'l-Hasan, and beginning :—

دوش در همّام صحیح اوین، با حریف حوروش بودم فرین،

- (6) Ff. 62^b–64^b. A short prose tract, beginning :—

چند کلمه در باه موزین العبارات املا کردد می شود . . . آخ

- (7) The *Hidáyat-náma* (ff. 64^b–103^b), beginning :—

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا . . . آخ، بدان ای طالب
عاشق صادق و قنیق الله تعالى في طلب المعانی والکمالات که
جمیع سالکان . . . آخ

The ‘Arsh-náma’ is cited on ff. 82^b and 92^b, and the Járidán-náma on f. 95^a. Fadlu’lláh is spoken of as “His Holiness the Master of the Interpretation” (حضرت صاحب تأویل).

There is a final colophon on f. 103^b giving the date of transcription of the *Hidáyat-náma* as Sha'bán, A.H. 1003 (= April–May, A.D. 1595), followed by 3 *bayts* from the *Mahshar-náma-i-Iláhi* of Hadrat-i-‘Aliyyi A'lá, one of the *Khalifas* of Fadlu’lláh.

(13) OR. 6,381 (*Persian and dialect*).

A Hurúfi tract by Mír Fádílí (ff. 4^b–101^a), beginning:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَبِفَخْلَهِ نَسْتَعِينُ 'قُولَهُ جَىْ حَىْ ڏِ كَلامِ
صَاحِبِ كَمَالٍ كَهْ بِيَانِ فَتَّ وَ دَهْمَهَا اشِيمَا هِكَرَدَ . . . اِكْنُون
بَدَانِكَهْ اِيَنْ فَقِيرَوْ حَقِيرَارَا دَرِينْ آيَتْ بَا حَرَمَتْ كَهْ وَعَدَدَ رَوَيْسَتَرَا
قَتَّ تَعَ اَوْلَ بَسَى شَبَ کَرَندَ ،'

The colophon (on f. 101^a) is dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), and is followed (ff. 101^b *et seqq.*) by a commentary by Hamza Bey, and (ff. 108^a–113^a) by numerous verses from different sources. I have already referred (p. 540 *supra*) to the important series of dates given on f. 2^a of this MS. They are given in figures and also, in the following note, in words:—

ظپھور و بروز ق خدا از هجرت حبیب خدام در هفت سد و
هشتاد و هشت شد ،
و ولادت او در هفت سد و چهل واقع شد ،
و شہادت او در هفت سد نو و شش شد ،
و مقتول شدن دجال که مارانشاد است علیه الملعنة در سنه ۸۳

In a marginal note the last date is “corrected” to A.H. 703, which is an obvious error. Amongst the numerous other notes and verses scribbled on the blank pages of this MS. are the following:—

بپیشستدن بش نسنه طشد چیتندی اول آدم و حوّا و شیطان و
طاوس و مار، آدم دن مراد روح در و حوّا جسم در و شیطان طبیعت
در و طaos شیوه تدر و مار غصه در (f. 1a)

بیت، آب در چشم خورشید نماند ای عیسیٰ
خون بدست آر که با خاک تیمّم گفّرست (f. 2a)
ریاعیّات سید اسحق،
سی سال ز بعد مرگ از ف خدا،
ناگاد بگوشم آمد از خیب ندا،
که مرده صد سال چه خُفتی در خاک،
بر خیز که هنگام حسابست و جزا (f. 2a)

II. IN MY OWN COLLECTION.

(14) A. 41.

One of five Ḥurúfi MSS. bought at the sale of the effects of a Bektáshí dervish in May, 1901. Ff. 205 of 15.5 × 10.5 c.
Contents:—

- (1) *Hikmatu'l-Asrár* (ff. 1^b–6^a), a short tract in Turkish, consisting chiefly of quotations from the Qur'án and the Traditions, and beginning:—

اسلام دیننگ بغیادی بش نسنه اوزره در آنج

- (2) Two quotations of six verses each, apparently from the *Mathnawi* (f. 7^a).

- (3) The *Musajja'*, a short Persian treatise in rhymed prose, of Mawláná Ghiyáth (ff. 7^b–9^a), beginning:—

ای دل رسبر رد رو و رسبر روح پرور مطلع انور ساز برابر سجع
سراسر مدحت حیدر آنخ

- (4) A *qaṣīda* of 162 *bayts* (ff. 9^a–15^b) by Kamál b. Ghiyáth, beginning:—

ای دل دانا زبان بکشا و یک دم با خود آ،
اول دفتر منزین کن بتوحید خدا،

This is followed (ff. 15^b–25^b) by other pieces of verse by Sa'dí, 'Attár, Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, etc.

- (5) The *Khuṭbatu'l-Bayán* (Turkish), of which the title and opening words run thus:—

هذا كتاب خطبة البيان امير المؤمنين حضرت شاد سردان کترم
الله وجيه،

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، حمد بي حدد و ثناء بي عده . . .
الآن، امتا بعد حمد و ثناء والصلوة والسلام . . . آنخ، امتا بعد،
ای طالب راد حقيقة اگر بیلمک دیلسن که حقیقتا کیمدر اول
شاد اولیا و وعی مصطفغا اول ولی مجتبیا اول سورا اعنیا . . . آنخ

It comprises seventy *Kalimas*, or sayings of 'Alí b. Abí Talib, each of which is explained and illustrated, and fills ff. 26^b–181^a. The colophon is dated A.H. 983 (= A.D. 1575–6).

- (6) A short tract in Turkish entitled *Irshād-i-Kiswa* (ff. 181^b–183^a), beginning after the doxology:—

اقبا بعد، بر نچه کامه تاج و کسود بیان ادر، امام محمد باقر آر
بو رسالیه ارشاد کسود دیو آد وردی،

- (7) Another tract in Turkish by Bábá Qayghúsíz (ff. 183^a–185^b), beginning :—

ای عقل کامل بو سوژش جوهر نه بر نظر ایله گور نه بیان ایلر

- (8) Another short tract in Turkish (ff. 185^b–186^a) on 23 things which man must avoid.
- (9) Another short Turkish tract (f. 186^a) on the tradition “He who knows himself hath known his Lord.”
- (10) A Persian tract by Zaynu'd-Dín al-Khwáfi on Ṣúfí ethics (آداب الصوفیّة), in 19 chapters (ff. 186^b–189^b).
- (11) Another Persian tract (ff. 189^b–192^a) on the dispute between Knowledge (علم), Understanding (عقل), Prosperity (دولت), and Health (عافیت).
- (12) A Persian tract entitled *Mudhaffar-náma-i-Núshíruán*, supposed to have been compiled by Buzurjmihr for his sovereign (ff. 192^b–196^a).
- (13) An Arabic tract (ff. 197^b–198^b) by a disciple of the saint Jamálu'd-Dín al-Ḥusayn al-Qudsí on the 32 letters contained in the Prophet's titles.
- (14) A Persian tract (ff. 198^b–202^b) in eleven sections, beginning :—

فصل اول در اقسام نفوس و آن چهار است فلکی و حیوانی و نباتی
و طبیعی آنچه

- (15) Two Persian *ghazals* by Rafíqí and a Persian quatrain (ff. 203^a–203^b).
- (16) A note on the genealogy of Sayyid 'Imádu'd-Dín Nesímí in Turkish (ff. 203^b–204^b). He is said to have taken his *takhalluṣ* from a district called Nesím near Baghdad, and to have been originally a follower of Shaykh Shíblí, but afterwards of Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí, one of whose Vicars (*Khulafá'*) he became.
- (17) A few of the *qit'as* of Ibn Yamín (f. 205). Here the MS. breaks off abruptly. It contains, as will be seen, little that is essentially Ḥurúfí, but rather such

mixture of Súfi and Shí'ite treatises as would be suitable to the Bektáshí neophyte, though the notice of Nesímí indicates sympathy with the Ḥurúfís.

(15) A. 42 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektáshí sale in May, 1901. Ff. 88 of 17·4 × 12·1 e. Contents:—

- (1) *Bayán-i-Aḥwál-i-Ḥashr wa Amr-i-Ma'ād* (ff. 1^b-4^b) on the Resurrection, beginning:—

هذا بيان احوال حشر و اهـر معادى بيلديـر،

ايـدى مـعلوم اولـديـكـه بـزم كـندـو ذـوقـمـزـدـه احوال حـشـرـكـ و اـهـرـ
ـمعـادـيـنـ تـمـثـيـلـيـ اـولـديـرـكـهـ جـمـيـعـ مشـكـلـلـرـ اـنـسـانـهـ مـعـلـومـ اـولـهـ دـورـتـ
ـمـرـتـبـهـ اوـزـرـيـنـهـ دـيرـ آـنـجـ

- (2) *Risála-i-Hulúl u Ittiḥád-i-li-hál* (ff. 4^b-8^a) on Incarnation and Union, beginning:—

سيـدـ شـريـفـ قـدـسـ سـرـهـ حـاشـيـهـ تـحـيزـيـدـدـ بـيـانـ اـيـلـيـگـيـ بـحـشـيـ
قطـمـيـرـ نـقـلـ اـنـدوـبـ دـيرـ كـهـ آـنـجـ

- (3) The *Ākhirat-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 8^b-15^b), beginning:—

الـحـمـدـ لـلـهـ رـبـ الـعـالـمـيـنـ وـالـعـاقـبـةـ لـلـمـشـقـيـنـ وـلاـ عـدـوانـ الـأـعـلـىـ
الـظـالـمـيـنـ وـصـلـىـ اللـهـ عـلـىـ مـشـهـرـ الدـّاـتـ مـحـمـدـ وـآـلـهـ اـجـمـعـيـنـ،
آـمـاـ بـعـدـ، بوـقـيـرـ عـبـدـ الـمـجـيدـ اـبـنـ فـرـشـتـهـ اـعـلـيـهـ اللـهـ شـائـهـ وـصـانـهـ عـمـاـ
شـانـهـ آـنـجـ

- (4) The *Kitáb-i-Nuqatu'l-Bayán* by Shaykh-záda (ff. 19^b et seqq.), beginning:—

قال الله تعالى آية سُنْرِيَّمْ آيَا تِسْنَا فِي الْأَقْلَى وَفِي أَنْقُسِيَّمْ حَشَّى
يَتَبَيَّنَ لَيْمَ آنَهُ أَحَقُّ، اى طالب بیل و آگاده اولکه آفادده نشانلر
وار دیر الخ

It comprises 22 sections (فصل), and is dated Friday, 15 Jumáda i, A.H. 1282 (= Oct. 6, A.D. 1865). The scribe, As‘ad, calls himself “the least of the servants of the Family of the Cloak [i.e. the Prophet, his daughter Fátima, her husband ‘Alí, and their two sons al-Hasan and al-Husayn] and the servant of Mahmúd Bábá” [who was no doubt the Pír, or Elder, of the *tekyé* to which he belonged].

- (5) F. 79^a. A Turkish quatrain and two *bayts*, one in Turkish and one in Persian.
- (6) Ff. 79^b-80^b. A short Turkish tract on the secrets of the virtues of the letters, and the knowledge of the numbers belonging to the letters.
- (7) A short Turkish tract on the true nature of man (f. 81^a). The remaining pages (ff. 81^b-88^b) are blank.

(16) A. 43 (*Turkish*).

A collection of *Hurúfi* poems and treatises, containing ff. 134 of 17·5 × 12·2 c., bought in September, 1901, and containing:—

- (1) A *qasida* of Shuhúdí (ff. 1^b-3^b), beginning:—

خرس ایجاد عالمدن ظہور ذات داور در ’

عجب معنی نازکدر که عقل آنده مقتدر ’

It contains 71 verses, and ends:—

شبودی او تو ز ایکی حرفلک اسرارینه ایرد گسہ ’

امین اولدگ صو سزلق ز حمتندن آب کوثردر ’

This is followed by other Hurúfi poems (ff. 3^b–11^a) by Shuhúdí, Surúrí, Khalílí, and Nesímí, in Turkish, and by one Persian *bayt* by Na‘ímí, and two Arabic *bayts* ascribed to ‘Alí.

- (2) The *Bashárat-náma* of Raffí‘í (ff. 11^b–54^a), beginning:—

قال النبی صَلَّی اللہُ عَلَیْہِ وَاٰلِہٖہِ وَسَلَّمَ فاتحۃِ الکتاب سبع آیات
اول سبع المثانی ای حکیم ، گلدى بسم اللہ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

The poem comprises some 1,440 verses, and ends:—

بو دعایی مستجاذ ایت یا محبیب ،
فنسٹک اظہار ایت پدیدار حبیب ،

The characteristic Hurúfi symbols for the numbers 28 and 32 are of constant occurrence, and are always substituted in the poem for the Turkish equivalents of these numbers, *yigirmi sekiz* and *otuz iki*.

- (3) The *Tuhfa* of Shuhúdí, a Turkish *mathnawi* poem (ff. 55^b–76^a), beginning:—

ابتدأ فضل عظیم لا یتام ، حمد لله گلدى مفتاح کلام ،

F. 76^b is blank. On f. 77^a is inscribed a *bayt* from the *Kursi-náma* and a reported saying of ‘Alí in respect to the different classes of those who know God.

- (4) A Turkish treatise (ff. 77^b–80^b) without title, beginning:—

ولبشوں کی فہم تلث مائیہ و آزادداو تسعیا یعنی اکلنڈیل اصحاب
کیف مغارداری ایچندہ او چیزوں یہیں دخی طقوز یہیں عبارتدر سئہ
ایامین کے او چیزوں بیک یہیں اولور آنے

- (5) Another short piecee (ff. 80^b–81^a), beginning:—

قال الشیخ ابو الحسن هذا استمع من صاحب التاویل اسرار جبر
واخفا صلات این غراء دو ابرو و چپار میزد و موی سر منشق بخطا
استوا آنے

- (6) A tract in Persian (ff. 81^a-88^b) without title, beginning:—

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدي لو لا هدانا الله، بناءً
قد يم لا يزال آمين

- (7) The *Hidayat-náma*, in Turkish, with Persian preface, by Firishta-záda (ff. 89^b-112^b), beginning:—

بنام قدیم لا یزال و علیم متعال . . . الحنف، اما بعد، باعث
این تحریر و سبب این تقریر آن بود که یاران همدم و همده-ان
محرم طالبان تحقیق دینی و صادقان مستحق یقینی ازین تفسیر
داسی بندۀ فصل یزدانی عبدالمجید ابن فرشته عزّ الدین اصلاح الله
شأنه التماس کردند که . . . الحنف

The title is given on f. 90^a, l. 14, and the date of composition (on the same page) as Rabí' i, A.H. 830 (= Jan., A.D. 1427). Persian verses by Fadlu'lláh (صاحب تأثيل) occur on ff. 96^a, 111^b, 112^a-112^b.

- (8) A Turkish poem of 42 *bayts* (ff. 113^b-114^b), by Darwîsh Alwân, entitled *Dast-nâma*, beginning:—

ایشتکیم نظمله برسوز دیم خوش.

اگر عاقل ایسٹ جان ایله ایت گوش ،

- (9) The *Ganj-náma*, a Turkish *mathnawi* poem (ff. 115^b-120^a) by Rafí‘í, beginning:—

ای گنج نہان بی بدایت، وی بحر سحیط بی نهایت،

- (10) The *Shahriyár-náma* (ff. 121^b-131^a), a Turkish *mathnawí* poem by Panáhí, beginning:—

ابتدا در ابتدادِ ابتداء، ابتداد حاصل اولدی انتها،

ابتدأ گلدي کلام لا یعنام ' فِ وَخَادُولَامْ حَقْدَنْ وَالسَّلَامْ '

It was composed, according to the concluding verses (f. 131^a), in A.H. 860 (= A.D. 1456) :—

دیـرـ ۸۰۰ یـیـلـ آـیـدـیـ ۰ ۰ یـیـلـ آـیـدـیـ ۰
بوـ تـامـ اوـلمـقـلـغـهـ تـحـوـیـلـ آـیـدـیـ ۰
نـطـقـ حـقـدـنـ اوـلـدـیـ بوـ سـوـزـلـرـ تـهـامـ ۰ آـیـلـکـدـدـ آـیـدـیـ دـرـ مـادـ عـسـیـامـ ۰

The remaining leaves (ff. 131^b–134) are blank.

(17) A. 49 (*Turkish*: printed).

The *Káshifu'l-Asrár wa Dáfi'u'l-Ashrár* of Isháq Efendi, discussed in the earlier portion of this article, a Refutation of the Bektáshís and Hurúfís in three chapters, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874–5). Pp. 174 of 15·7 × 11·5. Begins, after the brief doxology :—

۷ . . . وـ بـعـدـ مـعـلـومـ اوـلـهـ کـہـ اـهـلـ اـسـلـامـیـ اـخـالـلـیـلـهـ مـشـغـولـ اوـلـانـ
مـلـاـنـقـلـ اـشـ باـشـلـوـجـهـسـیـ طـائـفـہـ بـکـتـاشـیـانـ اوـلـوـبـ آـنـ

(18) A. 69 (*Turkish*).

Lithographed edition of the '*Ishq-náma* (here called '*Áshiq-náma-i-Iláhi*) of 'Abdu'l-Majíd b. Firishta (or "Firishtázáda") 'Izzu'd-Dín, which is professedly a translation into Turkish of the *Jávidán-náma*, and was made (p. 3, ll. 2–3) in Shawwál, A.H. 833 (= June–July, A.D. 1430). It is divided into 32 chapters, of which the contents are stated on pp. 5–7, and begins :—

الحمد لله رب العالمين و الصلوة والسلام على رسولنا محمد
و الله و صحبه اجمعين والعاقبة للمشتقيين و العداون على الشياطين
آمراً بعد بو حقيير فرشته زاد عبد المجيد عز الدين اصلاح الله شأنه
ايديكه . . . آنـ

Pp. 164 of 20 × 13·5 c. There is no date or place of publication, but this is probably the edition referred to in the *Káshifu'l-Asrár* (see p. 536 *supra*) as having been published in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2).

It is followed by another treatise, with separate pagination (pp. 19), entitled *Kamál-náma-i-Ál-i-‘Abá*, beginning :—

حَسَن حَمْد زَكِي نَامَعَدُود وَحُسَيْن ثَنَى وَفَى نَا مَحْدُود اوله

الْمُنْجَن

(19) B. 15 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 90 of $22\cdot2 \times 13\cdot2$ c. One of seven MSS. bought in September, 1901, containing :—

- (1) The *Miftáh*, or key to the contractions occurring in the *Hurúfi* writings, of which some 150 are given (ff. 2^b–3^b). This is probably “the tract entitled *Miftáhu'l-Hayát* ('The Key of Life')” referred to in the *Káshifu'l-Asrár*. See p. 537 *supra*.
- (2) *Sirru'l-Mufradát* (“The Secret of the single [Letters]”: ff. 4^a–5^b). This describes a form of *abjad* in which the numerical values of the letters differ from those ordinarily assigned: e.g., ح = 1 (i.e. l) instead of 8; ط = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 9, up to ن = 7 (i.e. j) instead of 50; س again = 1 (i.e. l) instead of 60; ع = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 70, up to ش, which again = 7. In other words, the first seven letters of the *abjad* (ابجدهوز) are discarded, or keep their original values of 1–7, and the remaining 21 fall into 3 groups of 7 each, the letters in each group indicating the numbers 1 to 7. Begins :—

يَخْشَى نَظَرَ اِبْدَهْسَن كَهْ قَانُون نِيجَهْ خَبِطَ . . . الْمُنْجَن

- (3) The ‘*Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 5^b–85^b), lacking the Preface which precedes the Table of Contents in the lithographed edition, and beginning with the latter, which agrees with the lithograph. On the other hand, in this MS. a different Preface, lacking in the lithograph, is interpolated between the Table of Contents and Chapter i. This begins, after the short doxology :—

اًمَا بَعْدَ، حَسْرَتْ اَحَدِيَّتْهُ حَمْدَ اِيَّتَكَدْنَ صَلَّرَدَ وَرَسُولَ حَفَرْتَنَهُ
سَلَامَ اِيَّتَكَدْنَ صَلَّرَدَ مَعْلُومَ وَمَفْتُومَ اُولَنَهُ كَهْ بُو عَلَمَ لَدَنَيَّهُ الْبَهِيْ فَارَسِيْ
لَسَانِيْ اُوزَرِيْهُ اِيَّدِيْ

The author's name, title of the work, and date of composition stand here (f. 6^b) as in the lithograph, but the two texts, though probably representing two different recensions, appear in the main to correspond.

(20) C. 6 (*Turkish*).

The *Diwán* of 'Arshí, a Turkish Hurúfi poet, bought 22, v. 1901. Ff. 90 of 22·7 × 14·4 c. Not dated. Begins:—

بَا بِسْمِ اللَّهِ اِيَّهِ قَرَانَهُ اِيَّتَدَمَ اِبْتَدَا
قَافَ وَيَا وَدَالِيْ قَيْلَدَمَ حَرَفَ وَاحِدَ دَدَ اَدَا

(21) C. 7 (*Turkish*).

The *Diwán* of another Turkish poet named Muhibyyu'd-Dín Abdál, bought 22, v. 1901, beginning:—

بَزَدَدَ بَلْدِيْگُمْزِيْ سُوْبِيلِيمُ ' دَكْلِيَّانَهُ عَلَى مَدْحَنَ اِيلِيلِيمُ '
عَلَى دَرْمَؤْمَنْلَرْكَ رَهْبَرِيْ ' عَلِيدَرْ مَصْطَنِيْ نَشَ سُودَكَلْرِيْ '

Ff. 40 of 22 × 16·3 c. Copied by Lütfí, A.H. 1271
(= A.D. 1854-5).

(22) C. 8 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektáshí sale in May, 1901, containing ff. 104 of 23·6 × 14·1 c., and containing:—

- (1) A Turkish *mathnawí* poem (ff. 1^b-30^a) in 32 chapters, by Turábi, containing about 1100 couplets, and beginning:—

بَا بِسْمِ الْتَّهِيْ گَلَ دَكْلَهُ عَيَانَ ' شَادَ مَرْدَانَ سَرَرَى دَرَ بُو گَلَ اِينَانَ '

and ending :—

بُو تِرَابِيْ جُوشُوبْ جَانْ وَدَلِيْ ' سُويْلَدَنْ سَنْ سُويْلَيْنْ سَنْ يَا عَلِيْ '

- (2) *Kayfiyyat-i-Khilqat Risálati* (ff. 33^b-38^b), a tract in Turkish on the manner of Creation, beginning :—

مَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى آدَمَ سَتِينَ لَوْنَا مِنَ الشَّرَابِ خَلَقَ نُورَ مُحَمَّدَ
مَا خَلَقَ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا خَلَقَ جَبَرَائِيلَ مِيكَائِيلَ
إِسْرَافِيلَ حَزَرَائِيلَ الْآنِيَنَ

- (3) Life of Hákíjji Bektaş and the *Wiláyat-náma* of Hákím Sultán (ff. 38^b-72^a), the latter filling only 2 pages (ff. 71^b-72^a), entitled :—

هَذَا مَنَاقِبُ حَفْصَرَتْ حُنْكَارَ حَاجِيَ بِكْتَاشَ وَلِيَ وَلَيْتَ نَامَةً
حَاجِمَ سُلْطَانَ حَفْصَرَتْلَرِيَ قَدَسَ اللَّهُ أَرْوَاهُمْ اجْمَعِينَ ،

The *Manáqib* begins :—

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ . . . الْآنِيَنَ، اَمَّا بَعْدَ بِلَكُلَّ كُمْ حَقْ سَبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى
خَلْقَى يَرَاتَمَقْدَنَ مَرَادَ اوْلَدَرَكَهُ عَلَمَ مَعْرُوفَتْ صَبَادَهَ اِيْكَى جَهَانَدَهَ الْآنِيَنَ

The *Wiláyat-náma* begins :—

بَارَكَ اللَّهُ فِيْكُمْ طَيِّبَ اللَّهُ اِنْفَاسَكُمْ وَرَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْكُمْ وَعَنْ
وَالدِّيْكُمْ وَعَنْ اسْتَادِيْكُمْ وَعَنْ كَافِةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ اجْمَعِينَ حَاظِرِينَ (sic)
خَائِبِينَ بِرَحْمَتِكَ يَا ارْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ بَارَكَ اللَّهُ أَعْزِزَكُمْ اللَّهُ
اوْقِيَانُلَرِ اِيْچُونَ دَكْلِيَانُلَرِ اِيْچُونَ الْآنِيَنَ

- (4) The *Ákhirat-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 73^b-76^b), beginning :—

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ . . . الْآنِيَنَ، اَمَّا بَعْدَ بُو فَقِيرِ عبدِ الْمُجِيدِ [بَنِ]

فَرِشَتَهَ عَزَّ الدِّينِ الْآنِيَنَ

(5) A treatise on the Letters (ff. 76^b-90^b), beginning:—

آب ت ث ج ح خ الی آخره پا چاڑا کاو علم آدم الاسماء كلها آنچ

(6) The remainder of the volume (ff. 91^a-104^a) contains scraps of Turkish poetry, *gulbângs*, prayers, and (ff. 94^b-95^a) an account of the affiliation of Hájji Bektásh and of the spread of his Order, entitled:—

در بیان سلسلة حضرت خنکار حاجی بکتاش ولی قدس الله سرّه العالی and طریق سرایتی

(23) C. 9 (*Turkish*).

Another collection of *Hurúfi* tracts, containing ff. 79 of 22·8 × 15·3 c. Bought 22, v, 1901. Contents:—

(1) Tract without title (ff. 1^b-17^a), beginning:—

الحمد لله الذي هدا ليهذا وما كنا نبتدئ لولا ان هدانا الله . . . امنا بعد بلک کلام الهی و نطق ریانی و كتاب آسمانی ایچنده و احادیث نبویه ده گوردم که . . . آنچ

(2) The *Faqr-náma* of Víráni Dédé (ff. 17^a-51^b), beginning: الحمد لله رب العالمين ایمدى ای طالب فضل حق الحمد لله دن مراد تنگری آلمقدرو تنگری آلمقدن مراد آنچ

The colophon is dated Shawwál, A.H. 1059 (= Oct., A.D. 1649).

(3) The *Fayd-náma* (ff. 51^b-76^a), a Turkish *mathnawi* poem, beginning:—

سلطان بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ، آدم و حوا در ای دیو رجیم ، يعني بسم الله البدين ایسته آدمی ، فضل حق سلطان هر دو عالمی ،

In the colophon (f. 76^a), which is dated the end of Shawwál, A.H. 1059 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1649), it is called:—

الرسالة الفيضية القدسية الموسومة بغیض نامه ،

(4) The *Tirúsh-náma* (ff. 76^a-77^a), beginning :—

اَوْلَى لِبَاسِنَ آتُورُكَنْ بُونَى اوْقِيَه وَإِذَا شِئْنَآ بَدَلْنَآ اَمْشَالَيْهِمْ تَبَدِيلًا

(24) C. 10 (*Turkish*).

‘*Uyúnu'l-Hidáyat*, a Turkish *Hurúfi* prose treatise with Arabic Preface, beginning :—

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَنَا مِنْ اَقْرَبِ حَبِيبِهِ وَخَلِيلِهِ مُحَمَّدٌ
المصطفى النَّبِيُّ

This Preface (ff. 1^b-3^b) is chiefly in praise of the Twelve Imáms. The Turkish text begins :—

راقم تسويدات المئان صحائف عميان كريدي رسمى بكتاشى
ناتوان بو طرزيله تحقيق بيان حال و بو نيمجله شرح ما في الحال
ايدركه . . . النَّبِيُّ

It thus appears that the author was a Bektáshí named Kirídí Rasmí, or Rasmí of Crete. Ff. 82 of 22·8 x 15·6 c. and 15 lines. The colophon, which is undated, runs :—

كتبه الفقير الحسين من بنده محمود بابا في الحصار، ومنه هو

(25) C. 11 (*Turkish*).

The *Fadilat-náma*, a long Turkish *mathnawi* poem in the apocopated hexameter *hazaj* metre, beginning :—

ازل ياد ايداليم حتى و قديمى دى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيمى

It appears to treat chiefly of the virtues of ‘Alí b. Abí Tálib, as stated in the following line in the Introduction (آغاز کلام), f. 5^a :—

فضيلات نامه سدن مررتخانڭ، بيان معجزه سدن مصطفى نىڭ،
خبر صوردىن روایات علیدن، بيان ايله ديدىگىڭ فضل ولیدن،

A superficial examination reveals little that is characteristically *Hurúfi*, the general tone of the poem being Shí‘ite.

Bought 7, v, 1903. Ff. 262 of 20 × 14 c. The *Fadilat-náma* ends on f. 247, and the remaining pages of the volume are inscribed with various short poems by Nesímí, Sarmad, Asrár Dedé, etc.

(26) C. 12.

Risála-i-Dil u Dáná, a long Turkish *mathnawi* poem in which *ghazals* are intermingled, by Shaykh Ibráhím Efendi al-Oghlání al-Áq-sará'í, beginning:—

الْبَا عَلِمْنَه يُوق حَدْ وَغَایَتْ، خَدَايَا وَصَفْنَه يُوق هَیْجَ نَهَايَتْ،

This is followed by *ghazals* and other poems in which the author uses his name, Ibráhím, as his *takhallus*, while in others the *takhallus* Khidr occurs. The MS. is one of the five bought at the Bektáshí sale in Constantinople in May, 1901.

Ff. 116 of 23·3 × 17 and 19 lines. Good Turkish *naskh*. The colophon is dated A.H. 1285 (= A.D. 1868–9), and runs as follows:—

حَسْرَرَةُ الْحَقِيمِ سَيِّدِ اسْعَدِ السَّعْدَاءِ چَاكِرَ آلِ عَبَّا عَنْ بَنْدَهُ حَضَرَتْ
سَيِّدُ مُحَمَّدٍ بَابَا سَجَادَهُ نَشِينَ بَدْرَگَادَ شَرِيفَ شَهِيدَ لَكَ دَلَكَشَا دَرَ
رَوْمَ اِيلَى حَسَارِي بَالْأَقْدَسِ اللَّهِ اِسْرَارَهُمْ وَنَفَعَنَا اللَّهُ بَانَوَارَهُمْ
اجْمَعِينَ فِي ۹ زَسَّهَ ۱۲۸۵

In this MS. also I have observed nothing distinctively Hurúffí.

III. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

(27) ANCIEN FONDS PERSAN, 24.

For full description of this MS., which was acquired 24, vi, 1873, see the *J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1898, pp. 63–64. Contents:—

- (1) The *Istiwá-náma* (ff. 1^b-59^b) of Amír Abú'l-Yaqín Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayní al-Astarábádí, who mentions (f. 9^a) Ramaḍán 12, A.H. 846 (= Jan. 14, A.D. 1443), as the date of his conversion. The colophon is dated A.H. 970 (= A.D. 1562-3), and is preceded by the two following quatrains:—

اینست کتاب استوا نامه بنام *

اعلام کند پیشست و دوزخ بتمام *

هر کس که بخواند این کتاب از سر عدق *

داند همه ارواح کجا کرد مقام *

هر کو بکتاب استوا نامه رسید *

از فضل بسر نامه خامه رسید *

در یافت پیشست و روز حشر را بیشین *

با معرفت مکمل نام (sic) رسید *

- (2) A Persian Ḥurúfi *mathnawí* poem (ff. 62^b-80^b) on Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, beginning:

ابتدا کردم بنام ذوالجلال * حی و قیوم و قدیم بی زوال *

On the preceding page (f. 62^a) is scribbled a poem by Khayálí.

- (3) The glossary of the dialect words in the *Járidán-i-Kabír* (ff. 62^b-80^b), beginning:—

آوی آوی آون آمی آمید آمد آویته

آنست آورد آوردن آمد آمدن آمدند آویخته

(28) SUPPLÉMENT PERSAN, 107 (*Persian*).

A Ḥurúfi work which, for reasons stated on p. 65 *ad calc.* in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, I believe to be the

Mahabbat-náma-i-Iláhí. For further description see the article above-mentioned, pp. 64–66. Ff. 139. Dated A.H. 895 (= A.D. 1489–90). Copyist, Darwísh Ahmád.

IV. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

(29) OR. 40 (*Turkish*).

The *Diwán* of ‘Arshí, beginning:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ اِيْلَهِ قُرْآنَهُ اِيْتَدَمْ اِبْتَدَا
قَافْ وَ يَا وَ دَالِي قَيْلَدَمْ حَرْفَ وَاحِدَدَدَ اَدَا

Ff. 128 of 23 = 16·6 c. and 17 lines. Good plain Turkish *naskh*, within red lines. Bought 5, ii, 1901. Copyist, Sayyid ‘Alí Ridá, who describes himself as “dust at the feet of the Family of the Cloak” (see p. 555 *supra*)—
خاکپای آل عبا. Some of the poems are in Persian. At the end of the volume (f. 128) is a short biographical notice of the poet. He belonged to Yeñi Bázár in Rumelia, and his proper name was Maḥmúd. He originally took the *takhallus* of Chákí (چاکی), which he afterwards changed to ‘Arshí (عرشی), because, as he says:—

غُلَّغُلِ شِعْرِ مِنْ بِعْرَشِ رَسِيدٍ، زَانْ سَبْبَ شَدْ تَخَلَّصَ عَرْشِيْ

He appears to have lived about A.H. 964 (= A.D. 1556–7).

(30) OR. 41 (*Turkish*).

The *Wiláyat-náma* of Hággi Bektásh:—

هَذَا وَلَيْتَ نَامَةً قَاتِبَ عَالَمَ خُمَّكَارَ حَاجِي بَكْتَاشَ وَلِيْ قَدَسْ
سَرَدَ الْعَزِيزَ،

Ff. 132 of 24·3 × 16·8 c. and 17 lines. Poor Turkish *nastalíq*. Dated 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1274 (= 7 July, A.D. 1858). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The contents are given (ff. 1^b–2^a) as follows:—

(فهرست) حاجی بکتاش ولی نگ نسبی (حاجی بکتاش بن سید محمد بن موسی ثانی بن ابراهیم المجاب بن علی [بن] موسی الرّضا آنچه) و مولودی * - معلمه ویردکلری * - خنکار اسماعیلی ویردکلری * - حاجی دیندیگی * - خراسان ارنلرینه نشان گوستردیگی * - سوسام بیراغی اوزرنده نماز قیلدقلری * - اوصاف حمیده لری * - احمد یسسوی نگ اوصاف حمیده لری * - فجیعه الف و تاج و خمرقه و چراغ و علم و سجاده * - احمد یسسوی قطب الدین حیدری بدخشانه ارسالی حاجی بکتاش ولی واروب گستوردیگی * - * احمد یسسوی حضورینه ایرشدیگی * - بدخشان مسلکنی فتح ایتدیکی * - داریجه اوزرنده نماز قیلدیغی * - * خواجه احمد یسسوی اذنیله رومه گله دیگی * - روم ارنلرینه سلام ویردیگی * - ولی امریه نشان گوستردیگی ابراهیم حاجبه نظر ایتدیگی * - خخرایله ملاقی و بوستانچی یه نظر ایتدیگی اورکوب ولیتنده گوستردیگی رمز * - صویجه قریونگ قراری * - اشارت ایله دیوار طغرل دیغی * - گوستردیگی ولايتی * - نور الدین خواجه یه گوستردیگی ولايت * - بش طاش طانقلق ویردیگی * - زمیریره الما صاری یه گوستردیگی رمز * - بر فقیه امام استی * - خمیر قیاد رمز گوشترب طاش کسدیگی * - ولایتلرندن بزی * - گندم و مترجمکی طاش ایلدیگی * - امر جمه سلطان ایله رمزی * - اشارتله قزلجه خلوت یا پل دیغی * - خضر نسبی ایله ملاقی اول دیغی * - شائب ارنلرینه ملاقی اول دیغی * - صاری اسماعیلی قونیه یه ملا خنکار

* The sections indicated between the asterisks, as well as the end of the tract, from f. 115^b onwards, are in verse, the remainder in prose.

گوندردیگی در' - بر چوپانی الیله فرنگستانه آتدیغی در' -
قدیجق انایه ولایت گوستردیگی' - قدیجق انایه نفس ایدوب
اولادی اولدیغی' - کوانچ ابدالله سوال ایندیگی رمهزی' - دریا
اوزرنده گمی خلاص' - قدرینه صفا نظر ایندیگی' - سید غازی
زیارتی' - گوستردیگی رمزلر' - سید محمود خیران ارسلانه بنوب
گلديگي' - یونس امره بی طبیق امردیه ارسالی' - آنخ

From f. 115^b to the end is in verse, and also, as already mentioned, ff. 15^a-30^b. The biography ends with Hājjī Bektaş's appointment of five Khalífas, or Vicars; his testamentary instructions to Sári Isma'il; his death, and the miracles performed after it; and his burial. The text begins:—

شکر و سپاس بی خایه و حمد [و] ثنا، لانهایه اول واحد فرد یکتا و
رؤف عظیم بی همتا آفریدگار عالمیانه اول پادشاهه اویسونکه آنخ

(31) OR. 42 (*Turkish*).

رسالة في خواص المفردات العجيبة لدرويش بابا اویس

Risála fi Khawássi'l-Mufradát 'ajiba, a treatise on the virtues of the letters, etc., in four chapters, by Darwísh Bábá Uways. Ff. 35 of 14·4 × 9·9 c. and 11 lines; written in good *naskh* with rubrications, and dated A.H. 952 (= A.D. 1545-6). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The author is described as "one of the disciples (*abdál*) of Sultán Sayyid-i-Ghází." The text begins:—

الحمد لله المعلم (ie) الاسرار والمطلع شمس علمه التدنى
فقلوب انبیائه آنخ

The characteristic Hurúfi signs for 28, 32, etc., occur throughout.

(32) OR. 43 (*Persian*).

A collection of *Hurúfí* tracts, bought 5, ii, 1901, and containing ff. 112 of 15×10 c. On f. 1 is given a list of the abbreviations used by the *Hurúfís*. The other contents are as follows:—

- (1) The *Shiráb-náma* of Sayyid Isháq, a contemporary of Fadlu'lláh (ff. 2^b-31^b), composed in A.H. 814 (= A.D. 1411-12). Transcription ended on Dhu'l-Qa'da 2, A.H. 1018 (= Jan. 27, A.D. 1610), in the village of 'Ayn Malik in Kurdistán. Scribe, Shujá' Dedé. At the end stand the words: .بعون فَاللَّهُ الْوَهَابُ Begins:—

بنام عاشق اول و مُحِبٌ ازل که بنظر جمیل نگران جمال و بدیده
تنصیل حیران اجمال المخ

- (2) The *Wiláyat-náma* (ff. 32^b-58^a), composed in Rajab, A.H. 1030 (= May-June, A.D. 1621), beginning:—

شکر و سپاس و حمد بی قیاس بانی عالم ناس را که بوهم و قیاس
و تفرقه و سواس پیرامن سزادقات ذو صفات او نتوان گشت المخ

- (3) Another tract, anonymous and untitled (ff. 58^b-66^a), beginning:—

شکر و سپاس حَ خالتی را که از فواتح کلام تفرقه صوری و معنوی
مارا در سلک نظام کشید المخ

- (4) The *Zubdatu'n-Naját* (ff. 66^b-69^b), beginning (after the doxology):—

بدان ای طالب صراط مستقیم و جویند راه نجات و رستکاری المخ

- (5) A titleless and anonymous tract which seems to be the *Tahqiq-náma* (ff. 70^b-86^a), containing 4 *tahqiqs*, and beginning:—

شکر و سپاس و محمد بسی قیاس ح احمد قدیمی راجه د که قبیله
خاک و قدر آب آن

- (6) Two portions of a Turkish commentary (entitled *Sharḥ-i-Javídí*) on the *Járidán-náma* (ff. 88^a–109^a) by “Hájji Efendi,” and (ff. 110^b–112^b) some other writings, including a discussion of the question why the word ایتدا is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Járidán-náma*.

(33) Or. 44 (*Turkish*).

The ‘*Ishq-náma* of ‘Abdu’l-Majíd b. Firishta ‘Izzu’d-Dín (Firishta-záda), composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1430). Ff. 133 of 18·9 x 10·8 c. and 13 lines. Good, clear naskh with rubrications: dated the end of Jumáda ii, A.H. 996 (=May 26, A.D. 1588); bought 5, ii, 1901. The arrangement of the prefatory matter differs from the lithographed edition described above (p. 558 *supra*), but agrees with it in the number, order, and contents of the chapters. Begins after table of contents and doxology:—

حضرت احادیثه حممد ایتمکدن صلکرد [و] رسول حضرتینه علیه
وسلام ایتمکدن صلکرد معلوم و مخیوم اولدی که بو علم ایندنه البیهیه
فارسی لسانی اوزرینه ایدی بعد از آن بو روم ملکنده آن

The contents of the 32 chapters is given as follows:—

- باب ا فی العشق والمحبة، باب ۲ فی معرفة لواء الحمد،
 باب ۳ فی حقيقة الترجمة، باب ۴ میراث الأرض،
 باب ۵ فی كيفية الشُّكُوكِ بِرَبِّکُمْ قالوا بهی، باب ۶ فی المراج،
 باب ۷ اسرار کلمة الله، باب ۸ فی قدم القرآن،
 باب ۹ خلق آسمونات والأرض فی ستة أيام،
 باب ۱۰ فی حقيقة السکر و آثنتیوی،

باب ١١ في دابته الأرض ،

باب ١٢ في اسرار الحجّ والاحرام و حجر الاسود وغيرة ،

باب ١٣ في كيفية أمّة مُنتظَى ، باب ١٤ في حقيقة صلوة الوسْطَى ،

باب ١٥ في حقيقة لا تقرّبها هذه الشجرة ،

باب ١٦ في تعظيم بيت العتيق وسفينة نوح وغيرة ،

باب ١٧ في حقيقة بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ،

باب ١٨ في حقيقة الامانة ،

باب ١٩ في سرّ الحجّ والعمرة وغيرة ، باب ٢٠ في حقيقة كشف الساق ،

باب ٢١ في حقيقة الحروف ، باب ٢٢ في السجدة على المساق ،

باب ٢٣ في سرّ طلوع الشمس من مغربها ، باب ٢٤ في كيفية المهدى ،

باب ٢٥ في زمان المهدى ،

باب ٢٦ في حقيقة اليوم الذي يخرج المهدى ،

باب ٢٧ في قول المسيح من الحواريين ، باب ٢٨ في حقيقة كنز الكعبة ،

باب ٢٩ في احاطة الاسم الاعظم ، باب ٣٠ في رؤية الله ،

باب ٣١ في رحم حوا ، باب ٣٢ في حقيقة امير المؤمنين على ،

In the course of the book the author represents it as essentially a Turkish version of the *Járidán-náma* in the following words :—

معلوم و مخفیوم اولمدى که بو علم لدنیه الپیه فارسی لسانی او زیرینه .

ایدی بعد از آن بو روم مملکتندد فارشی لسانی بلنلر قلیلدر بعض

الاخوان اهل مشربیدن . . . شویله تممی ایتدیلر که بو علم

لدنیه الپیه که علم تأویلدر ترکی لساننه گله ،

(34) OR. 45 (*Turkish*).

The *Sa'ádat-náma*, composed by one of the disciples of Mawláná Báyazid (the title is mentioned on f. 2^a, l. 6 of the text). Ff. 42 of 18·6 × 10·9 c. and 13 lines. Dated Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 995 (= Nov., A.D. 1587). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The following explanation of the genesis of this book occurs near the beginning, immediately after the Doxology, which closely agrees with that of the '*Ishq-náma*':—

معلوم و مفهوم اولى که بو علم علم البی در و دخی ابداندر که
مئوی اولر علم ادیان که العلم شامان علم آلابدان و علم آلدیان ،
من حرف نفسه علم الابداندر فقہ حرف رَبُّ علم ادیان در ، صگرد بو
علم البیهی فصلیه (فصیله MS) فارسی دلنجه ایدی که بو بندۀ فیاغه
بو علم البی که ایرشدن مولانا ابا یزید حضرتبلندن ایرشدن سلمه
الله فی الدارین بو بندۀ فضل فیاغه پیغمبر و مرشد اولوب تقلیدات
ظلامائیه جیمهیدن خلاص ایلدي . . . بو علم البیهی فصلیه
(فصیله MS) فارسی دلندن ترکی دلنه ترجمه قلدی .

(35) OR. 62 (*Persian*).

A Persian *Hurúfi qasida* by Sayyid-i-Sharíf, with Persian prose commentary by the author, entitled :—

هذا شرح قصيدة سيد شريف عليه الرحمة

On the inside of the cover it is labelled in a later hand "Járidán-náma." Ff. 196 of 21 × 15·2 c. Good modern naskh, with rubrications; dated A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5). Bought 3, v, 1901. Begins :—

ستایش بر کمال لایق ذات کریمیست که سؤالات سائلان و تقاضاء
محاجان در خزانهن و وهب وجود او هیچ تشکیص و تنقیضی پیدا
نمی کند آن

The *qaṣida* begins :—

زاهل مدرسه و خانقاد جمله دیار، سؤالهاست سرا بر طریق استفسار،

The ‘*Arsh-náma* is repeatedly cited in the commentary. The author mentions having met Amír Sayyid ‘Alí at Tabríz, when engaged there in making copies for himself of the *Járidán-náma* and other Hurúfí works.

(36) Or. 488 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Diwán* of ‘*Arshí*, containing ff. 129 of 22 × 16 c.; not dated; bought 18, viii, 1904; beginning as usual :—

باء بسم الله ايله قرآنہ ایتمد ابتدا،

Followed (on ff. 124^a–126^a) by the *Miftáḥ*, or key to the contractions employed in the Hurúfí books, entitled *مفتاح کتب حروفیمان*.

(37) Or. 530 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 88 of 19·4 × 14 c., transcribed by Darwísh Muṣṭafá in the *tekyé* of Bábá Qayghusuz in the Qaṣru'l-'Ayn at Cairo; the first portion was completed on Ṣafar 26, a.h. 1223 (= April 23, A.D. 1808), and the second on 17 Jumáda i of the same year (= July 11, A.D. 1808). Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contains :—

- (1) A Turkish translation of the *Kanzu'l-Haqá'iq wa Kashfu'd-Daqá'iq* of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aymu'l-Quḍát of Hamadán (ff. 1–40).
- (2) A Hurúfí work (ff. 42^b–86^b) entitled the *Kashf-náma* (so in title and colophon), beginning :—

ذلك فضل الله يؤتى به من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم، الحمد
له اول اسميه تسهيته لمن شدر ألم الكتاب فاتحة الكتاب كتمه وافية
و شافيه وكافيه و اساس وسبع المثانى و ام القرآن و سورة صلوات در

(38) OR. 531 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the '*Ishq-náma*' of Firishta-záda, agreeing with Or. 44 (see pp. 570-1 *supra*) in beginning abruptly with the table of contents, and agreeing also in the preface which follows this. Ff. 198 of 16·6 x 11·5 c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. The '*Ishq-náma*' occupies ff. 1^b-191^b, and is followed by another short *Hurúfi* treatise without title or author's name (ff. 192^a-197^a).

(39) OR. 532 (*Turkish*).

A collection of mystical and religious tracts in Turkish, none of which appear to be *Hurúfi*, though one (No. 8) is connected with Hájji Bektásh, on which account the volume is mentioned here. The collection is, however, labelled on the cover مجموعهٔ حروفیه ("Hurúfi Miscellany"). Ff. 158 of 16·2 x 10·11 c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contents:—

- (1) The *Haqiqat-náma* of Shaykh Sáfi (ff. 1^b-13^b), a treatise on Dreams and their interpretation, beginning, after a short doxology:—

امتا بعد، بو بر عجالة در بر عزیز دلث ازرنه صفا قرنداش لرندن
کم آنلش معرفت حقاری بو ضعیف ازرنه واجب در . . . الخ

- (2) The *Pand-náma* or "Book of Counsel," ascribed in the brief table of contents on the cover to *Dá'íti* (written ضعیفی), beginning:—

ینه اسمی (sic) الپی ایلدم یاد، که او لا هر سزم آنگله آباد،

Ff. 17^b-35^b; dated the end of Rajab, A.H. 944 (= 2 Jan., A.D. 1538).

- (3) A Turkish poem (ff. 37^b-49^a) entitled in the table of contents *Tuhfa-i-Muhammad Nasîm*. The heading in the text and initial verses are as follows:—

حضرت شیخ وردی رحمه اللہ شرح ابو البرکات الشیخ محمد نسیم جلوتی (خلوتی ؟) حفید قطب العارفین الشیخ عبد الحیی الانسکداری قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز ،

بسمله نوریله اچ ’ فالی گلستانه دن ’
 جوهر عرفانی صاچ ’ لعل بد خشانه دن ’
 حمد خدایله کشف ’ ایله بو اسراری سن ’
 رفع نقاب ایلیوب ’ بکر عروسانه دن ’

This is dated A.H. 1173 (= A.D. 1759-60).

- (4) A translation of the celebrated *Burda*, or “ Mantle-poem,” of al-Búrí. Ff. 53^b-64^b. No colophon.
- (5) Another treatise on Dreams (ff. 65^b-72^a), and the Seven Circles to which they belong, entitled in the Table of Contents *Risála-i-Yedi Dáira* (“The Treatise of the Seven Circles”), beginning :—

حمد اول اللہ کے جمیع مخلوقاتِ خلق ایتدکدن صڑھ
 مخلوقات امر اوزرینہ اول سونلر ایچون آنخ

- (6) The *Tasfiyatul-Sulük* (ff. 72^a-81^a), a treatise on religious discipline and exercises.
- (7) *Kitáb-i-Maqámát-i-Awliyá* (ff. 81^b-101^a), by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza.
- (8) The *Maqálát*, or Discourses, of Hájjí Bektásh (written of Khurásán (ff. 103^b-107^b), beginning :—

بلمک گرک کم خلائق درت بلوك گروهدر

- (9) A treatise entitled in the Table of Contents *Maqámatu'l-Aqtáb* (ff. 109^b-126^b), beginning :—

الحمد لله على نعمائه . . . آنخ و بعد بیگل که بر عزیز
 رجال اللہ نقدر وارسہ شیخ الشیوخ محبی الدین عربی . . . آنخ

Special commendation is bestowed on Shaykh Muhibbu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí's *Futúhát*.

- (10) Another tract (ff. 127^a-132^b), entitled in the Table of Contents *Dá'ira-i-Rijálu'l-Ghayb*. This is followed (ff. 133^b-134^a) by diagrams of talismans, etc.
- (11) Another tract, incomplete at end, entitled in the Table of Contents *Asmá'u'l-Husná* (ff. 135-157), beginning :

الحمد لله الذي أنعم علينا من النعم و علمنا من الأسماء ما لم نعلم ^{الحمد لله}

(40) Or. 544 (*Arabic-Turkish*).

Ff. 36 of 19·1 × 10·11 c.; bought 21, i, 1905. Contents :—

- (1) *Mirátu't-Tálibín* (ff. 1^b-2^b), by Zaynu'd-Dín al-Khwáfi, beginning :—

اَحْمَدَ اِبْنُ الْمَالِكِ اَنْ جَنَابَ الْحَقِّ سَبَّاحَتِهِ وَتَعَالَى اَعْلَى وَاقْدَسَ
مِنْ اَنْ يَصُلَّى اِلَيْهِ وَاحِدٌ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ

- (2) *Risála-i-Nuqátu'l-Bayán* (ff. 3^b-36), in Turkish, by "Shaykh-i-Hadrat," in 21 sections, beginning :—

سَمِّيَّهُمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي آلاَوَاقِ وَفِي آنْتِسِهِمْ حَسْنَى تَبَيَّنَ أَنَّهُمْ أَهُوَ الْحَقُّ ،
اَيْ طَالِبُ اَسْرَارِ الْهَبَى بِلَكَلْ وَآكَادُ اَوْغَلْ كَهْ آفَاقَدُ نِشَانَلَرِ وَارْ
در اَنْتَ

(41) Or. 567 (*Turkish*).

A good modern copy, dated Rajab, A.H. 1234 (= April-May, A.D. 1819), of the *Diwán* of Nesími of Baghdad, beginning :—

دَرِيَاءِ مُحِيطِ جَوْشَهُ گَلَدَى ، كَونِ اِيلَهِ مَكَانِ خَرْوَشَهُ گَلَدَى ،

Bought 14, vii, 1905; ff. 214 of 23·5 × 16·3 c.; scribe, Hájjí 'Alí.

(42) Or. 568 (*Turkish*).

Prose and verse writings of Víráni Bábá, followed (f. 55^b) by the '*Uyumu'l-Hidiyya*' of Rasmí Efendi the Bektáshí.

Ff. 148 of 17·5 × 11·8 c.; bought 14, vii, 1905; transcribed in A.H. 1249 (= A.D. 1833–4) by Darwîsh Muhammâd Amîn. Vîrânî Bâbâ's work (ff. 1^b–53^a) begins:—

ایمدى اى طالب ق حق الحمد لله دن مراد تیگر تعالیٰ بی
اکقدر . . . الخ

On f. 5^a Hâjjî Bektaşî is mentioned as:—

سلطان جهان سید غازی و خنکار حاجی بكتاشی ولی و روح
محمد وعلی

The 'Uyûnu'l-Hidâya (ff. 55^b–139^a) begins:—

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من أمته جليله و خليله محمد المصطفى الخ

(43) OR. 569 (*Turkish*).

The *Bashârat-nâma* of Rafî'î. Ff. 75 of 24 × 16·6 c. and 15 ll.; abundant rubrications; transcribed in A.H. 1268 (= A.D. 1851–2) by Muştafa Nadhîf al-'Alâ'î. There is a prose preface (ff. 2^b–4^b), which, with the title, begins:—

ويسمى مقدمة الحقائق بالبشرات نامه لرفيعي عليه الرحمة
والرغبة وان قال الشهي عليه السلام 'بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم'
فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات احادييف
اول سبع المثانى اى حكيم ' گلدي بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم '

The wholly poetical portion begins on f. 4^b as follows:—

اولدی یگرمی سکز حرف اى جوان '
احمد مرئی کتابی بی گمان '
لام المعلمہ اولدی یگرمی طقوز '
اولدہ بر حرف اولدی باشقہ شبیهہ سز'

(44) OR. 677 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Diván* of 'Arshí-Dedé, beginning as usual :—

باء بسم الله ايله قرآنه ايتدم ابتدأ

قاف و يا و دالى قيلدم حرف واحد دادا

Ff. 105 of 22 × 15.5 c. Transcribed in A.H. 1222 (= A.D. 1807-8) by Darwísh 'Isá b. Kamálú'd-Dín Khoja of خاکت اقدام وحدین کسری ارکری, who describes himself as حروفی. Bought 17, ii, 1906. On f. 1^a are scribbled two dates, that of the birth of Fadlu'lláh the Hurúfi (A.H. 740 = A.D. 1339-40), and that of the birth of 'Arshí Dedé (A.H. 970 = A.D. 1562-3).

(45) OR. 702 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *'Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda, beginning, like the other manuscript copies described above, with the Index (ff. 1^b-2^b), which is followed by the Preface already noticed. Ff. 126 of 20 × 14 c. Transcription ended on Saturday, Sha'bán 1, A.H. 1219 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1804). Scribe, Sayyid Háfídih Yahyá, of the Shádhili order of darwishes.

INDEX OF HURÚFI WORKS

REPRESENTED IN THE ABOVE LIST.

The letters placed after the class-marks indicate whether the MS. in question belongs to the British Museum (B.M.), myself (E.G.B.), the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (B.N.), or the Cambridge University Library (C.U.L.).

A'adam-náma (Persian). OR. 5959 (B.M.).

A'khirat-náma (Turkish), by Firishta-záda. OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 34^b-57^a; A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 8^b-15^b; C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 73^b-76^b.

'Arsh-náma (Pers.). OR. 6293 (B.M.).

'Arshí-Dedé, Diván of — (Turk.). OR. 6294 (B.M.); C. 6 (E.G.B.); OR. 40 (C.U.L.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.); OR. 677 (C.U.L.).

Asmá-i-Husná. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 135-157.

- Bashárat-náma* of *Rafí'i* (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 1^b–54^a;
Or. 569 (C.U.L.).
- Bashárat-náma-i-Iláhi* (Pers.). Or. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 30^a–62^b.
- Bayán-i-Āhwál-i-Hashr* (Turk.). A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 1^b–4^b.
- Bektásh, dar Bayán-i-Silsila-i-Hájji* —— (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.),
ff. 94^b–95^a.
- Bektásh, Manáqib-i-Hájji* —— (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 38^b–71^a.
- Bektásh, Maqálát-i-Hájji* —— (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 103^b–
107^b.
- Burda, Tarjuma-i* —— (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 53^b–64^b.
- Dá'ira-i-Rijálw'l-Ghayb* —— (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 127^a–
132^b.
- Diwán*. See under *Arshí*, *Muhíyyu'd-Dín Abdál*, and *Nesímí*.
- Faḍilat-náma* (Turk.). C. 11 (E.G.B.).
- Fádili, Mir* ——, Hurúfi tract by —— (Pers.). Or. 6381 (B.M.),
ff. 4^b–101^a.
- Faqr-náma* (Turk.) of Víráni-Dedé, *q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 17^a–51^b.
- Fayḍ-náma* (Turk.) of Víráni-Dedé, *q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 51^b–76^a.
- Ganj-náma* (Turk.) of Rafí'i. A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 115^b–120^a.
- Ghiyáth, Amir* —— or *Mawlána*, Poems and *Musajja'* (Pers.).
A. 41 (E.G.B.), ff. 7^b–15^b.
- Haqiqat-náma* (Turk.) of Shaykh Safí. Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b–13^b.
- Hidáyat-náma* (Pers.). There seem to be two different works
thus entitled, one wholly in Persian, represented by Or. 6380
(B.M.), ff. 64^b–103^b; the other in Turkish with a Persian
preface, by Firishta-záda, represented by A. 43 (E.G.B.),
ff. 89^b–112^b.
- Hikmatu'l-Asrár*, or *Khuṭbatu'l-Bayán* (Turkish). A. 41 (E.G.B.),
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- Ishq-náma* (Turk.) of Firishta-záda. Or. 5960 (B.M.); A. 69
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Or. 44 (C.U.L.); Or. 531 (C.U.L.); and Or. 702 (C.U.L.).
- Istiwá-náma* (Pers.) of Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Astarábádí. Anc.
Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 1^b–59^b.
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Other MSS. at Cambridge (Ee. 1. 27), Leyden, and St. Sophia.
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Library, p. 69.

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Káshifú'l-Asrár wa Dáfi'u'l-Ashrár (Turk.), by Iṣḥaq Efendi, printed A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5). A. 49 (E.G.B.).

Kháyáli, Poem by — (Pers.). Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), f. 62^a.

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Miftáh-i-Hurúf-i-Járidán. *Miftáh-i-Kutub-Hurúfiyán*. { A key to the contractions used in the *Járidán-i-Kabír* and other Hurúfi books. OR. 5957* (B.M.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.), ff. 124^a-126^a; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 2^b-3^b.

Mirátu't-Tálíbin (Arab.). OR. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-2^b.

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Risála-i-Faḍl-i-Hurúfi (Pers.). OR. 5958 (B.M.).

Risála-i-Hurúf, a treatise on the Letters. C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 76^b-90^b.

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Sa'ádat-náma (Turk.). Or. 45 (C.U.L.).

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Tusfiya-i-Sulük (Turk.). Or. 532 (B.M.), ff. 72^a-81^a.

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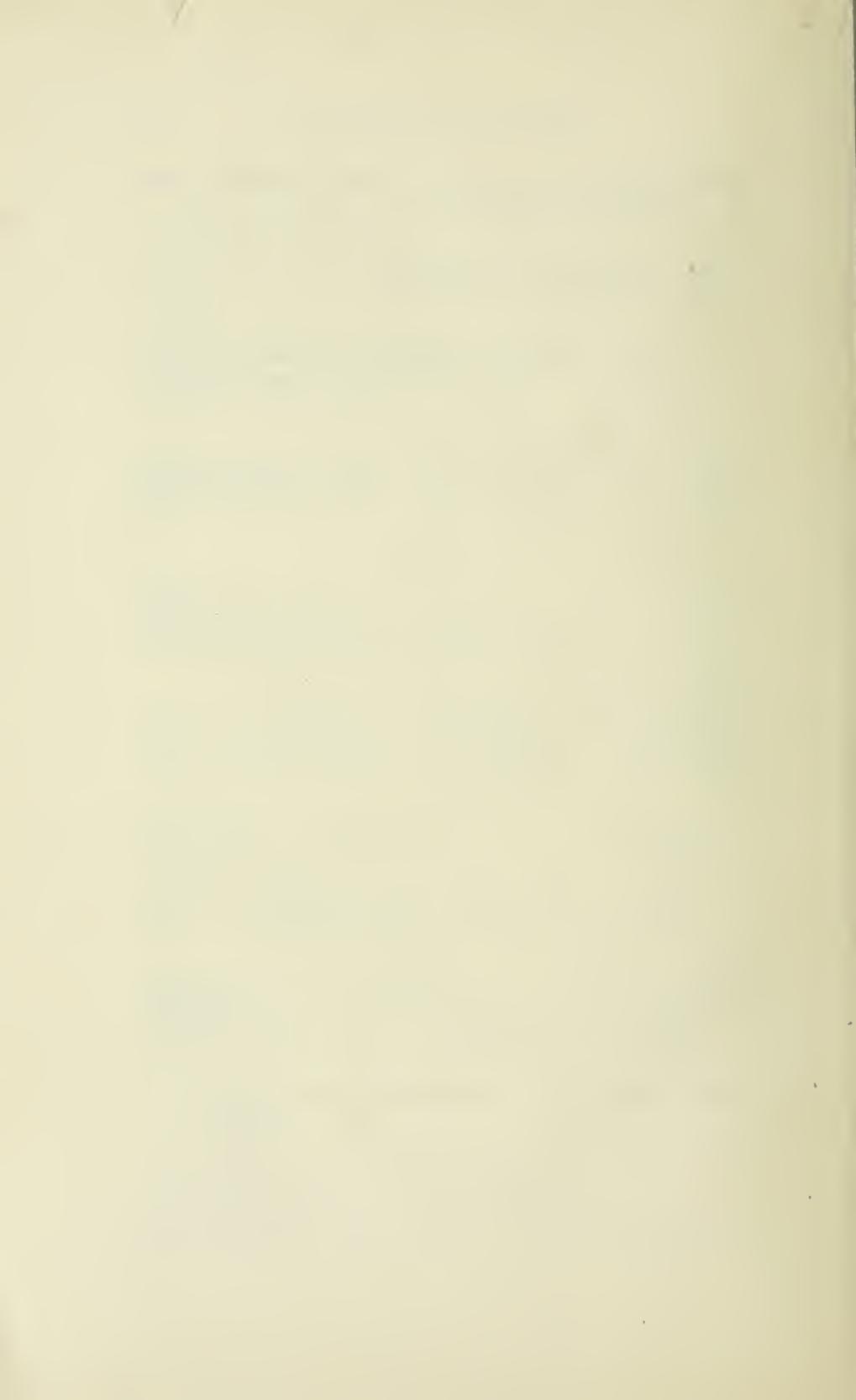
* *Uyúnü'l-Hidáya* (Turk.). C. 10 (E.G.B.); Or. 568 (C.U.L.), ff. 55^b-139^a.

Viráni-Bábá (or *-Dedé*), prose and verse of — (Turk.). Or. 568 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-53^a. See also under *Faqr-náma*.

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